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The Kaare's Aere Association

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Part. 1st Part. 2^d

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The Soldier's Tale, from The
Village - Association.

An Address to Mr. Burke from The
Swinish Multitude

18th Dec 1841

The Village of Whitton

The Manor of Whitton

The Bishop of the Tower

of London

18th Dec 1841

Dear Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. H. H. H.

Persecution

THE
V I L L A G E
A S S O C I A T I O N

O R

THE POLITICS OF EDLEY.

CONTAINING

THE SOLDIER'S TALE;
THE HEADBOROUGH'S MISTAKE;
THE SAILOR'S TALE;
THE CURATE'S QUOTATIONS;

AND

OLD HUBERT'S ADVICE.

You see they consider our House of Commons, as only "A SEMBLANCE," "A FORM," "A THEORY," "A SHADOW," "A MOCKERY," perhaps "A NUISANCE."

Times and occasions, and provocations will teach their own lessons. The wise will determine from the gravity of the case; the irritable from sensibility to oppression; the high minded from disdain and indignation at abusive power in unworthy hands; the brave and bold from a love of honourable danger in a generous cause: but with or without right, a revolution will be the very last resource of the thinking and the Good.

BURKE'S REFLECTIONS &c.

LONDON:

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T H E

VILLAGE ASSOCIATION.

THE inhabitants of Edley, a little village in Yorkshire, convinced that Ignorance is the parent both of Superstition and of Slavery, have wisely established an institution for the increase of true political knowledge.

A large oak marks the spot on the adjoining common, which they have dedicated to Liberty and Science; and where they weekly assemble to interchange their little stock of books, purchased by a small saving from their less necessary expences. Here they learn to value their various rights—here they enjoy the heartfelt pleasures of social intercourse, and unite themselves in the bonds of friendship and fraternal affection.

One hour at sunset is the time they in general allot for these rational and delightful engagements. But the joyful news of the ignominious

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flight

flight of slaves and tyrants from France, reaching them on one of the days of their meeting, they resolved to borrow, one more hour from labour; not for noisy exultation and revelry, but to enable them to prolong the instructive lessons which they gain, by a free and familiar conversation on those subjects, in which they know their dearest interests to be involved.

It was *Old Hubert's* turn to preside; his office was to regulate the business of the evening, and to settle their only differences—those of opinion. He was seated at the foot of the Oak, surrounded by his friendly associates. In one part of the circle, an humble Cottager was delivering the interesting pages of the *RIGHTS OF MAN*, to an industrious artificer, who supplied him in return with the spirited *DEFENCE* of those who had nobly dared to tear off the fetters of slavery, and assert the privileges of humanity. Opposite to these sat an old Farmer, who was recommending the excellent productions of *COOPER*, to a youth who was presenting to him the spirited writings of *BARLOW*.

Just as business was commencing, a neighbouring Farmer made his appearance, conducting an aged, maimed Soldier; "Here, said he, my friends, accept a new and worthy member."--An appearance
of

of shyness and reserve was instantly discoverable in the countenances of several of the members; this being perceived by *Hubert* he immediately seized the Soldier by the hand, and turning to the Farmer, who was evidently hurt by the reception his friend had met with from the Company, "Brother," said he, "in the name of our friends here, I thank you for thus introducing to us a new acquaintance, and one whom I doubt not we shall have reason to esteem as a friend—Excuse the shyness you observed in your neighbours at your entrance, and consider that when men first cast their eyes on a red coat they cannot avoid associating with it the ideas of rapine and murder; such having been the purposes for which the tyrants of the world have hitherto employed this class of our *Fellow citizens*. *Hubert* now rested his hand on the shoulder of the Soldier, whilst the veteran, proud of his new title raised himself as erect as if drawn up in the line. "My friends," continued *Hubert*, "be not, like silly dogs, more offended with the stone than with the hand that throwed it. Be not offended with a soldier, for those acts, which being commanded by his superiors to perform, his life would be the price of his disobedience. Regard not *Common Soldiers*, as they are humiliatingly termed, with an eye of suspicion; on the contrary, wherever you meet with them, pity and succour them; load them with kindnesses; and treat them as your Friends and Brethren

Then, in the moment of necessity and alarm will you be sure to find them the Protectors of their Fellow-citizens and the Guardians of their Country." *Hubert* stopped—the Soldier looked round him, and perceiving that the countenances of every one now bore evident marks of friendship and reconciliation, he thus addressed them. "My fellow Countrymen, you have now before you, suing to be received into this Society of Peace, one who in a thoughtless moment, devoted himself to the horrid purposes of war, but who has repented of his folly, not to say his crime, every succeeding moment of his life. I was bred up by a tender and careful parent, who early instilled into my mind the pure and benevolent maxims of Christianity, an affection for every human being, and a disposition to sympathise with my fellow creatures in every calamity I beheld them suffer. Scarcely had I attained the age of manhood, when I was entrapped by the cursed wily artifices of a recruiting Serjeant: by his diabolical cunning I was induced to quit the comforts and pleasures of a rural life, and tie myself down to spend the rest of my days in penury and wretchedness. Good Heavens! what scenes of carnage have past before these eyes! never will my memory be freed from the cries and agonies of thousands I have seen fall the victims of ambition and tyranny. Yes, my friends, thousands have I seen dead on a field of battle—to gratify a silly and contemptible, but merciless Tyrant

rant. Some of them too, might perhaps have fallen by these guilty hands—Painful reflection! But (and the tears which streamed down his cheeks shewed that his tongue was speaking the language of his heart)—“But,” said he, “I hope when Mercy weighs my crimes, those actions which my busy timid, self-accusing conscience is momentarily bringing before my mind, will not be thrown in the scale against me—No, they were not acts of the will, but of submission to my superiors.” “They,” said he, with firmness, “must look to it, for the crimes were theirs. One circumstance, my friends, I thank my God, I have to congratulate myself upon: never have I yet lifted up a hand against a fellow citizen, having always resolved when that was required of me, to resign my own life rather than submit. No, while others have gloried in the title of the King’s Soldiers, I have considered his Majesty, God bless him, as the Steward of the people, and myself as the SOLDIER OF THE PEOPLE.”

The countenances of all were now animated with affection and respect for *their* Soldier: every one was desirous to take him by the hand, and to accommodate him with a convenient seat; when the Curate, who was one of the assembly, put an end to the amicable contest by placing the Soldier betwixt himself and *Hubert*.

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Our warrior, almost overpowered with gratitude at the excess of attention which was shewn to him, thanked his new associates, and thus proceeded. "Disabled, at last, by the loss of a limb, I was dismissed the service. Worn out with age and misery, I was travelling through the next village towards the town in which I was born; but overcome with fatigue and want, I ventured to rest myself on the steps at the church door, when a surly, imperious fellow of a Beadle, gathered a mob around me by his noisy abuse, and insolently accused me with having committed a Felony. Fired with rage at such an accusation, I requested the surrounding crowd to inform me where the next Justice of Peace resided; that I might answer the accusation, and assert my innocence in a legal manner. My enquiry was unnecessary, for the unfeeling Villain availing himself of my weakness, and my inability to defend myself, seized me by the collar and dragged me, with a mob at my heels, before his Worship; who soon convinced me of my truly forlorn and miserable state. Sinking with hunger, weariness, disappointment and pain, I thought my wretchedness was complete, but—No, the measure of my calamities was not yet full, I had still to learn that I was deserted by Equity and persecuted by Law: for the Justice taking down a large book, read to me an act, which he said was passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by which it was ordered that idle soldiers and mariners

riners wandering about the realm, are made guilty of Felony without benefit of clergy; in other words—*are deserving of instant death*. The Justice therefore prepared to make out my commitment. And is this, said I, the reward of forty long years of hard and painful service—I should have proceeded, but this worthy gentleman,” pointing to the farmer, “requested and obtained my discharge, by promising to take me into his service.” The Soldier had just concluded his narrative, when a *quondam* member made his appearance. His conduct in the important office of Headborough had rendered him rather suspected by his neighbours; and an accident which had just happened convinced the assembly of the propriety of their suspicions.

The Secretary to the meeting had, during the preceding week, received a letter, addressed to *him*, but, evidently, by its contents, intended for no less a man than one of the *Secretaries of State*. This letter being addressed to their Secretary, was esteemed the property of the assembly, and therefore was ordered to be read. The contents appeared to be as follows.

MOST HONOURABLE SIR,

Edley,

EVER since his Majesty's most gracious Proclamation came into this part of the country, I
have

have constantly been spying about and watching for an opportunity to shew how much I honour my King, and am attached to his ministers. But, Honourable Sir, the friends of Liberty here, are so united, and laugh so much at that which has been so graciously given to us; that if I were to send your Honourable Sirship any information respecting my neighbours, it would be well if I escaped the horsepond; at all events, I should become the ridicule and contempt of all our neighbourhood. Now, considering as how *it is required and commanded that all and every one of your Magistrates, and others throughout the kingdom, do make diligent enquiry in order to discover the authors and printers, of wicked and seditious writings, and that they do from time to time, to one of the principal Secretaries of State, due and full Information give of such persons as shall be found offending as aforesaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein.* I humbly acknowledge I do not know how to act; for to tell you the truth, our Justice is one of your old fashioned gentlemen, that thinks a great deal of himself, and says he won't submit to become a spy or informer, for any double-faced Janus minister or any monarch whatever. Now thinks I, what can a poor Headborough do, I should be glad to send up some accounts to these principal Secretaries of State: seeing as how here is a great deal of grumbling; and seeing as how, I wish my Son *Tim* could be got to be an Exciseman; but

but for matter of that, I know if I was to send, or as you call it transmit, any thing touching our town's folk, though *Tim* might get his place I should never be able to live in the village afterwards. Being you see, in this quandary, I took Tom Heeltap, one of our neighbours, the other day, before our Justice for wanting more wages than his master would give him : and so while his worship was talking with him, which he did in vastly kind language, finishing his speech with a crown piece ; which, by the bye, I think, had better been let alone ; I was studying in a book that was laying open in the window : and now Honourable Sir, all my difficulties were at an end, for look you, I directly determined to send, transmit I mean, this account to you Honourable Sir, since by so doing, as the author is dead, I can't offend any body, and you can serve his book just as you think proper. And, upon the honour of a Headborough, I think it merits the worst you can do to it ; for I heard a great man say the other day, when recommending an address of thanks to the King for his gracious proclamation, that all writings that promote the examination into laws and government are *wicked* ; all those that shew where they are wrong are *libellous* ; and all those that point out the amendment of evils, are *seditious*. This being the case, what will your Honour think of this author, (Judge Blackstone) who, in the third page

of his third Volume—but, as your honour perhaps don't read such books now, since you left the club at the Thatched house Tavern, in the year 1782 : and since you seem to have forgot what you then knew, I take the liberty to recommend to you to put the book, at once, into the hands of the Attorney General ; that he may convert into libels, such passages as he thinks most true and offensive. But take a fool's advice and don't let your new friend Mr. Burke write about it, for *your enemies and the real friends to the people*, say nothing would so soon produce the accomplishment of their wishes, as that gentleman's favouring the swinish multitude with another book. Rather, sir, let it have the honour of being appointed, with all other such works, so offensive to your mind and mine, to be burnt by the common hangman ; and were their several Authors and Printers to share the same fate, I am sure you and cousin Grenville, with Esquires Rose and Dundas, would enjoy your births a few years the longer for it. So, Honourable Sir, hoping you'll not forget my son Tim,

I remain your honours
most obedient humble servant,

SAM. LOOKOUT.

Headborough of Edley.

To regain this letter was the poor Headborough's business with the assembly, since he hoped

ed, by conveying it to the minister, with its unfortunate direction, he should be able to shew the nature of his mistake, and exhibit, at the same time an undeniable proof of his zeal.

To obtain this favour of his neighbours, he was under the necessity of informing them, that he had written two letters; one of which was intended as a notice of his resignation of his place in the assembly, the other was to communicate the above official information, as he termed it, to the minister: and that by an unfortunate mistake he had misdirected his letters, sending his letter of censure and resignation to the Secretary of State, and his letter of official information to the assembly.

Hubert informed him, that it was not the wish of his neighbours to crush the fallen, and that, in the character of a *wretched Apostate*, he became a *fit associate* for those to whom he had wished to attach himself. He farther informed him, that, since he thought the return of his curious epistle would aid him in forming this *respectable coalition*, he should have it delivered to him; but, on the indispensable condition, that he should, in return, yield up to the assembly the letter which had been intended originally for them, and which had been honoured by the perusal of the great man. The poor Headborough declared the letter itself was,

he believed, in the Secretary of States Office, but hoped the assembly would be satisfied with a copy of it, which he reluctantly drew from his Pocket. The offer being accepted, and the letters exchanged, the poor Headborough precipitately retired, overwhelmed with disgrace and confusion. The letter was now read, and proved a fund of considerable amusement to our villagers, all being diverted with the idea of the great Man storming with rage, whilst he read and applied to himself, those menaces and censures, which had been intended for our village convention. The letter was as follows.

Sir,

After full consideration, I have determined it to be my duty to apprise you of the following circumstances.

That, I have for some time watched you, as well as those with whom you act, and am thoroughly convinced that, confusion and riot, must soon be the consequence of your mal-conduct.

That, in spite of your affectation of a peaceableness of disposition, I am satisfied, you would at this time be arming, were it not that you know the people are not with you, and would not submit to be the dupes of your wicked schemes.

That, as it is unsafe for any man who has a regard to his character, to be seen in your company, so is it much more so to assist you in the schemes
you

you plan against the peace of your country. I therefore declare my intention of withdrawing myself from you, and of no longer affording you the benefits derived from my counsels and assistance.

No longer Yours,

T. LOOKOUT.

As soon as the mirth excited at the expence of our Headborough was a little subsided, and order was again established, one of the members, a poor honest Sailor, whose eyes had been fixed on the Soldier from the first moment of his introduction to the assembly, thus accosted their new member. "Brother Sufferer, you perhaps are not aware, that his Majesty's Seamen, as we are called, have the same rewards in store, when we have sold our best days, and outlived our services, as those which you have so lately escaped from. Like you, we are not only deemed vagrants, but are declared by the laws, to be deserving of death, and that for no other Crime than because we are not able to find a home in that country for which we have bled, and under that government which we have contributed to support. So severe are the laws against us that by a Statue, passed in the reign of one of our bloody minded monarchs, it was enacted, if any waterman, who uses the river Thames, shall *hide himself* during the execution of any commission of pressing for the King's service, he is liable to heavy penalties. Believe me, My friends, we poor Sailors are
not

not less deserving the compassion and regard of our countrymen, than our brethren by land. As a proof of this hear my short history, which, though a tale of woe, is much less hard and cruel than what many a poor honest Tar could tell you. At the expiration of an apprenticeship served to a business, by which I doubted not of obtaining a comfortable livelihood, I was journeying to London, to obtain employ, when I was seized by a Press-gang, and by them hurried on board a tender; where three or four wretches directly swearing they had sailed half round the world with me, I was placed on board a Man of War, and sent on a foreign station. Whilst there, I was in several engagements, and underwent innumerable distresses, none of which I will particularise, for why should I wound your hearts with the recital; let it suffice to say, that being almost worn out with hardships and sickness, I was esteemed a piece of useless lumber, and after ten years service sent home. Delighted to receive me again, my friends spared no attention to restore me, and so successful were their endeavours that I soon regained my spirits, and recovered my former good state of health. In a short time I married an amiable woman, who, in about six or seven years, brought me four lovely children, which by the business I had served my apprenticeship to, I was enabled to bring up in a decent and comfortable manner. Now was I thriving amain, in a state of almost complete hap-

happinefs. I well remember it was one winter's evening, we were enjoying the pleasure of a good fire and a clean hearth—I remember it as well as if it were but yesterday—I had the youngest of our offspring on my knee, whilst the woman of my heart, with the rest of our little family, were attentively listening to the accounts of my various adventures—The door on a sudden burst open, and a set of Ruffians immediately rushed in. As soon as I recovered from the effects of a blow, which I received from one of them, and which stunned me for several minutes, their horrid business was made known to me. To be brief, I was immediately hurried again to sea, where I was kept a few months, but never out of sigh of England—Poor Tom Wilson, he used to say, Well here we are my boys, like so many grains, to be thrown into the scale to settle the balance of power. Well, as I was saying, there we were kept a few months, and then I was once more dismissed. On my return to my former dwelling, guess my surprise and grief to find it inhabited by those whose faces I had never seen before. Pray can you inform me, said I, what has become of those who some short time ago resided in this house. Yes, said they, the poor fellow, who like you, was a Seaman, was a few months since dragged away by a Press-gang; his Wife overcome with distress died soon after; and the children are now wandering over the Country—wretched vagabonds—depend-

dependent on the casual benevolence of commiserating passengers—Oh God of Mercy---my life's blood run cold to my heart, and I sunk lifeless on the threshold of my former happy---happy dwelling. "Stop, my friend, said the Curate, see the tear of pity starting from the eyes of your companions,—spare their feeling hearts. The sailor stopped—a long and heavy sigh escaped from his bosom, whilst his hands and eyes were lifted towards heaven, as though imploring its justice and protection. "Come my friends," said the Curate, "allow me to relieve your minds from the anguish you feel at the relation of the sufferings of our brethren. For your amusement and instruction, I will read to you a few passages, which since our last meeting, I have purposely selected for your attention."

"The passages to which I shall first call your observation are selected from the Ecclesiastical Researches of the late M. Robinson. The spirit of benevolence which actuated this worthy man, is plainly evinced, by the ardent desire he discovers, in almost every page of his writings, for the wide diffusion of the blessings of universal freedom. It is thus he introduces the following well told Story on the subject of religious persecution."

"Government hath nothing to do with the Paganism or Judaism of a family, but with their
civil

civil department only; but, when once the natural distinctions of righteous and wicked are laid aside, through any pretence whatever, a thousand futile badges are affixed to Citizens, and a thousand unjust and cruel consequences follow."

"A certain Nobleman in Portugal had a physician, who was clapped into the Inquisition under suspicion of Judaism; hearing this, he wrote to one of the Inquisitors to inform him that the Doctor was a good Christian, and he desired that he might be set at liberty. The Inquisitors returned a polite answer, that they could not oblige his Lordship; for the Prisoner had been tortured, and had confessed he was a Jew. The Count was excessively angry, he feigned sickness, and sent to desire the inquisitorial Judge to visit him. He waited on him. As soon as he arrived, the Count ordered him to sit down and write a confession that he (the inquisitor) was a Jew. The holy Father refused. The Count rung for his servant, and on his appearing, ordered him to call sufficient help, to take a red hot helmet then in the fire, and put it upon the head of the Father inquisitor. His reverence hearing this resolute order, flew like lightning to the escritoir, took the pen, wrote the confession, and signed a solemn declaration that he was a Jew. The Count, then reproached him with his injustice and barbarity. "My Phy-

D

sician

fician, said he, hath confessed himself a Jew, as you have, with this difference, pain forced the confession from him, it was nothing but the fear of of it that extorted it from you." P. 423.

‘Had this friend to Mankind been yet spared to us, with what satisfaction and delight would he have beheld the present glorious and successful efforts of France in the cause of Freedom. Observe with what honest indignation he speaks of the oppressions under which the People have always groaned.’

“The Assyrian tyrant had formerly boasted, that he had spoiled whole Kingdoms with as little remorse, and with as much ease, as boys spoil the nests of Birds of their Eggs; and that the inhabitants had not dared so much as to move the wing, or open the mouth, or peep*. Other great powers, equally injurious to the liberties of mankind, have succeeded in exercising the same dominion, and, *in all countries, the common people, the bulk of mankind, have been employed through life in ministering to the insatiable vices of a few.*” P. 39.

‘Not only was he convinced that the people had undergone every evil that tyranny could load them with; but he was also satisfied, from the fondness for power which had marked the actions of almost every Monarch, that their endeavours were more

* Isaiah, x. 14.

likely to be employed, in procuring the increase of their own influence, than in securing to the people their inestimable rights. "LIBERTY," he therefore says, in his concluding paragraph, "*is nowhere safe in any hands, except those of the people themselves*, who, as they have the greatest interest in being free, are the natural guardians of their own rights."

' This author has likewise published, A POLITICAL CATECHISM intended to convey, in a familiar manner, just ideas of good civil government, and the British constitution. It is a work filled with interesting and useful information '

' My friends, the entertainment I have now to lay before you is derived from another source. The writer whose sayings you have just listened to, contented himself with employing the pen of truth. But the author, we shall now make free with, is of a mind so pliant, that, to oblige those to whom he meanly pays his court, he to-day invests, with the most lively and pleasing forms, those objects, which yesterday he had doomed, everlastingly to be shrouded in the *sombre* habiliments of baneful and cursed influence. It is true, that whilst hypocrisy slept, some few truths have escaped from his pen; of these I shall chiefly form my next selection.'

‘ This man, we all know, has lately favoured the people with the polished and honourable appellation of a *swinish multitude* ; but hear the language he employed, in speaking of the same people, when cunning taught him to use other phrases.’

“ The *People* are the *Masters*. They have only to express their wants at large, and in the gross, we are the expert artists ; we are the skilful workmen, to shape their desires into perfect form, and to fit the utensil to the use. They are the *sufferers*—How shocking would it be, to see us pervert our skill, into a sinister and servile dexterity, for the purpose of evading our duty, and defrauding our employers, who are our NATURAL LORDS, of the object of their just expectations.”

‘ He who is now seeking to raise Kings to the rank of Gods ; who is cut to the heart to find that “ A King is but a man, and a Queen is but a woman ;” he who, because the power of an arbitrary Monarch was lessened, could cry out “ The unbought grace of life is gone—The Age of Chivalry is gone—the decent drapery of life is torn off—the superadded ideas furnished from the wardrobe of a moral imagination are exploded.” Could once speak thus of the childish, but costly appendages of a British King ; could once rail thus at our Nobility, and abuse even Royalty itself.’

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“As to *Offices of honour about the crown*, he says, Their emoluments, except in one or two cases, do not much more than answer the charge of attendance. Men of condition naturally love to be about a Court; and women of condition love it much more. But there is in all regular attendance so much of *constraint*, that if it were a mere charge, without any compensation, you would soon have the Court deserted by all the nobility of the kingdom. Sir, the most serious mischiefs would follow from such a desertion. *Kings are naturally lovers of low company.*—It must indeed be admitted, that many of the nobility, are as willing to act the part of flatterers, tale bearers, parasites, pimps, and buffoons, as any of the lowest and vilest of mankind can possibly be.”

“If there should be any failure, or deficiency of cash for the payment of demands on the Civil List,” this Gentleman proposed it---“to fall upon *Masters of the Horse*, upon *Lord Chamberlains*, upon *Lord Stewards*, upon *Grooms of the Stole*, and *Lords of the Bedchamber*. The household troops form an army, who will be ready to mutiny for want of pay, and whose mutiny will be really dreadful to a commander in chief. A rebellion of the thirteen Lords of the Bedchamber would be far more terrible to a Minister, and would probably affect his power more to the quick, than the revolt of
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the thirteen Colonies. What an uproar such an event would create at Court? What *petitions*, and *committees*, and *associations* would it not produce! Bless me! what a clattering of *white sticks* and *yellow sticks* would be about his head.—what a storm of *gold keys* would fly about the ears of the Minister—what a shower of *Georges*, and *Thistles*, and *Medals*, and *Collars* of *S. S.* would assail him at his first entrance into the antichamber, after an insolvent Christmas quarter. A tumult which could not be appeased by all the harmony of the New Year's Ode. *Rebellion it is certain there would be*; and rebellion may not now indeed be so critical an event to those who engage in it, since its *price* is so correctly ascertained;—*ascertained at just a Thousand Pound.*"

‘ After amusing himself with the numerous offices which folly has established in our Courts, and the spare attendance of those who have obtained the appointments; he says, “ Our Palaces, put one in mind of Old Sarum, where the representatives, more in number than their constituents, only serve to inform us that this was once a place of trade, and sounding with “ the busy hum of men,” though now you can only trace the streets by the colour of the corn, and *its sole manufacture is in members of Parliament.*”

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‘ These were the sayings of Edmund of other times, in a speech pointing out the absolute necessity of reform in the royal establishment:— but listen to the words of our modern Edmund, who is one day engaged in hurling Kings from their thrones, and is *employed* the next in replacing them, “ *We know*, says he, that the British House of Commons, without shutting its doors to any merit in any class, is, by the *sure operation of adequate causes*, filled with *every thing illustrious* in rank, in descent, in hereditary and acquired opulence, in cultivated talents, in military, civil, naval, and political distinction that the country can afford.”

‘ The lively descriptions, which this author gives of the many superfluous and ridiculous offices about a Court has undoubtedly merit, but must nevertheless yield to the satirical strokes of the witty Rabelais on the same subject. It is thus that Rabelais attacks this idle mummary, “ Queen Whims,” he says, “ chewed nothing, good Lady; not but that she had good sound teeth, and her meat required to be masticated; but such was her highness’s custom. When her prægustators had tasted the meat, her masticators took it, and chewed it most nobly: for their dainty chops and gullets were lined through with crimson fatten, with little welts and gold purls, and their teeth were of delicate white ivory. Thus when they had chewed the meat ready for her highness’s maw, they poured it down her throat through a
funnel

funnel of fine gold, and so into her craw. Nay, report, says, she never visited her close-stool but by proxy." Indeed, the numerous absurd appointments about a king, almost lead us to imagine, that when they were first established, men were so possessed with the idea of the *divinity of kings*, as to suppose it too great a degradation for them to perform the common offices of nature.'

'The quotation with which I next trouble you is from the patriotic Trenchard, it is indeed of considerable length ; but it is of such inestimable value that every sentence is worthy of being written in letters of gold : So full is it of useful information that it ought to be constantly in the memory of every citizen.'

" It may be of service, to shew what measures have been taken by designing men, in some of our neighbouring countries to ruin, and enslave the people over whom they presided ; to shew by what steps and gradations of mischief nations have been undone, and consequently what methods may be hereafter taken to undo others."

" Such traitors will ever contrive and form wicked projects, to make the people poor and themselves rich ; well knowing that dominion always follows property ; that where there are wealth and power, there will be always crowds of servile dependants."

“ They will squander away the public money in wanton presents to minions, and their creatures of pleasure or of burthen, or in pensions to mercenary and worthless men and women, for vile ends and traiterous purposes.”

“ They will engage their country in expensive and ruinous wars, to keep the minds of men in continual hurry and agitation, and under constant fear, and alarms, and, by such means, deprive them both of leisure and inclination to look into public mis-carriages.”

“ When they have served their ends by such wars, or have other motives to make peace, they will have no view to the public interest; but will often to procure such peace, deliver up the strong-holds of their country, or their colonies to open enemies, suspected friends, or dangerous neighbours.”

“ They will create *parties* and *divisions* in the commonwealth, and *by playing them by turns upon each other, will rule both.*”

“ They will prefer worthless and wicked men, and not suffer a man of knowledge or honesty to come near them, or enjoy a post under them. They will disgrace a man of virtue, ridicule virtue itself, and laugh at public spirit.”

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“ They

“ They will put men into employments, without any regard to the qualifications for these employments, or indeed any qualifications at all, but as they contribute to their designs, and shew a stupid alacrity to do what they are bid.”

“ They will promote luxury, idleness and expence, and a general depravation of manners, by their own example, as well as by connivance and public encouragement. This will not only divert men’s thoughts from examining their conduct, but likewise let them loose from all restraints of private and public virtue. From immorality and private excesses they will fall into necessity; and thence into a servile dependence upon power.”

“ In order to this, they will bring into fashion, gaming, drunkenness, gluttony, and profuse and costly dress. They will debauch their country with foreign vices, and foreign instruments of vicious pleasures; and will contrive and encourage public revels, nightly disguises, and debauched enormities.”

“ They will, by all practicable means of opposition, provoke the people to disaffection; and then make that disaffection an argument for new oppression, for not trusting them any further, and for keeping up arming troops; and, in fine, for depriving them of liberties and privileges, to which they are entitled by their birth and the laws
 2 of

of their countey:— Heaven grant, my friends, this prophecy may not be fulfilled in our days!”

“Mr. Rous in that Letter to Mr. Burke, which you have so properly added to your collection has, the following excellent passage, the spirit of which is so congenial with that which dictated the last quoted paragraph, as to tempt me to read it to you.”

“The friends of civil and religious liberty, must ever be friends of order. Their sole power is the voice of truth, which can be heard only in a calm. The temple of their worship can alone arise from the sober reason of mankind, directed by a sense of common interest.”

“GOVERNMENT, on the contrary, *love an occasional riot*, which, with the *assistance of the military*, is easily suppressed, in the mean time it alarms the votaries of a sordid luxury ; makes them crouch for protection ; and teaches them patiently to endure evils imposed by the hand of power.”

“An unconnected multitude have great difficulties to encounter in asserting their rights ; and this disadvantage has enabled the few to acquire and abuse their power. The general diffusion of knowledge every day diminishes this evil. Let us teach the people to understand the nature and true end of

government, and the awe of their power will probably effect much good, without calling their force into action. If they be greatly oppressed they will resist.—Happy if in that resistance their passions will submit to the guidance of enlightened minds.”

‘ We are informed, nay more we are convinced, by that zealous patriot Mr. Tooke, that two factions have long been contending, and still continue to contend, for the *plunder*, the government, and the patronage of the whole country : that bribery, perjury, riot and murder have been the consequence of these contentions : and that in a little more than the course of *four* years, one hundred thousand pounds, on each side, was expended in the city of Westminster. But, says Mr. Tooke, “the most important part to the country at large, is, that the nation itself, you and I and the public, against whose best rights it is incurred, we must ultimately pay this expence ourselves.” Does not this raise your resentment to the highest pitch ? Can you ever, my friends, after this become the tools of a party ? No, it cannot be. Hear what a celebrated author, whom we have already quoted says on this subject.’

“Whatever the betrayers of their Country get,
the People must lose; and, what is worse, must
lose

lose a great deal more than the others can get; for such conspiracies and extortions cannot be successfully carried on, without destroying or injuring trade, perverting justice, corrupting the guardians of the public liberty, and the almost total dissolution of the principles of Government. *Whatever bargains are struck up among the betrayers of their country, the people must find the money and pay both sides."*

"Let us not therefore, suffer ourselves to be engaged in empty and pernicious contentions; which can only tend to make us the property and harvest of *pickpockets*. Let us learn to value an honest man of another party more than a knave of our own."

"Sancho Pancha desired that his subjects, in the promised island, might be all *blacks*, because he would sell them.—This seems to be the first, modest, and, as I think, the only reasonable desire of the leaders of all parties; for no men will be at the expence and fatigue of body, and conscience, which is necessary to lead a faction, only to be disturbed and annoyed by them." *Cato's Letters*.

'Mr. Rous says, "The people, disgusted with the conflicts of party, with *coalitions* and *anticoalitions*, are led by degrees to regard the whole as a scene of contention for power, in which they can have

no interest. Whether CÆSAR or POMPEY prevails, *their burdens continue to increase; until tax-gatherers swarm like locusts, and devour all the labours of men.*"

'Value and preserve your rights, as almost the first best gifts of heaven. Remember that those who would wish to deprive you of these, will begin by robbing you of the freedom of writing, and of speech: this was the opinion of the celebrated author of Cato's Letters, as will appear from the following few short and detached extracts.'

"Without freedom of thought, there can be no such thing as wisdom; and no such thing as public liberty, without freedom of speech.—Whoever would overthrow the liberty of the nation, must begin by subduing the freedom of speech."

"While the late King James, when Duke of York, went avowedly to mass; men were fined, imprisoned and undone, for saying that he was a papist. And, that King Charles II. might live more securely a papist, there was an act of parliament made, declaring it treason to say that he was one."

"The administration of Government is nothing else, but the attendance of the trustees of the people, upon the interest and affairs of the people.
And

And as it is the part and business of the people, for whose sake alone all public matters are, or ought to be, transacted, to see whether they be well or ill transacted; so it is the interest and ought to be the ambition, of all honest magistrates, to have their deeds openly examined and publicly scanned."

"Freedom of speech is ever the symptom, as well as the effect of good government—Guilt only dreads liberty of speech, which drags it out of its lurking holes, and exposes its deformities and horrors to day light."

"All Ministers who have been or intend to be oppressors of the people, have been loud in their complaints against freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press; and have always restrained or endeavoured to restrain both."

"Freedom of speech is the great bulwark of Liberty; they prosper and die together; it is the terror of traitors and oppressors, and the strongest barrier that can be raised against them."

The evening now came on apace. The bright burning streaks which accompanied the setting sun had disappeared; only a few scattered purple clouds yet remained, which were quickly losing their faint tints, and promised, with the rest of the vast expanse, to be soon overwhelmed in darkness.

Hubert

Hubert therefore rose and leaning on his staff, whilst with one hand he smoothed from his eyes his silver locks, which the evening breeze had disturbed; he thus dismissed his companions.

“Look round my friends, see how bounteously all Nature is stored with gifts for the acceptance of man. Be ever grateful to the allwise dispenser of these inestimable blessings; but more particularly receive with thankfulness the lessons of love and peace, which through divine goodness have been revealed to you. By these you learn that through love for one another you may obtain unity of spirit, and preserve the bond of peace. By these you are taught to—‘Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.’”

“Be in friendship, therefore, with all men of every kingdom and nation, for, as the proverb says (and, ‘A proverb is the offspring of truth and experience’) ‘Human blood is all of one colour.’ I pray you tell me, Does not the same God reign and the same Sun shine over all?—Is not he as much my kinsman who was born under the north pole, as he that was born at the next door? therefore, as the saying is, ‘Let us kill the devil with grief, by joining hands all round the world.’

“Then shall we no more wade in the blood of our brethren, to gratify the ambition and satisfy the
the

the blood thirstiness of those whom silly custom has titled great men. It is well said that—‘ Where the horse of the Conqueror treads, the corn dares not peep ; ’ but—‘ The world without peace is the soldier’s harvest.’ Alas ! my friends ! ‘ When the trumpet sounds, Death prepares for a feast ; ’ and much is meant by the old saying, ‘ When war begins, the gates of hell fly open ; ’ since war not only occasions bloodshed, rapine and murder—but ‘ War makes thieves, and Peace hangs them ; ’ for to-day, no act can be too rapacious or cruel for a soldier to commit, but to-morrow should his hunger overcome his prudence, he is tried like a criminal and perhaps flead alive.”

“ Why cannot we my friends guard our own rights and properties ? Why be at the expence of keeping near a hundred thousand soldiers, year after year, and all the year round too ? For, as my poor Grandfather was used to say,—‘ Soldiers in peace are like chimneys in Summer. But this, my friends is a point, not for us to determine.”

“ Take my advice, however, and though the world be too narrow for two fools a quarreling, ‘ When others go to camps, you stay in the corn-field ; ’ since, ‘ Though he may snatch a slice of honour that goes to the fight, Discretion stays away ; ’ for of all the armour I ever heard of, ‘ The best shield against sword or ball is an inch or two of OUT-OF-REACH.’ Not

that I would with any man to desert who has been fairly enlisted, or to fear the loss of a few drops of blood, in the cause of liberty and justice. I only wish you to consider, 'There is less fun in a battle than at a harvest home.'

"Never be caught by tinsel frippery, nor lured by a scarlet coat and a cockade. But when the Sergeant rattles his gold in your face—Think of the value of what you are going to sell, and consider well the price you are about to receive for it. Oh, but you may say, it is not money tempts me but, 'tis—Honour. Honour silly man, when did you hear of a common soldier reaping any honour, his General runs away with that; for 'It is the common soldier's blood makes the General a great man.' Little claim, my friends, can he have upon Heaven who undertakes *for hire* to embrace his hands in the blood of his fellow creatures: you all know where it is said Blessed is the Peacemaker, but where is it so spoken of the Conqueror? Honest Trenchard used to say, "Alexander, who robbed kingdoms and States, was a greater felon than the tyrant whom he put to death, though no one was strong enough to inflict the same punishment upon him. It is no more just to rob with regiments or squadrons, than by single men or single ships.

Must little villains then submit to fate,
That great ones may enjoy the world in state.

Shall

Shall a poor pick-pocket be hanged for filching away a little loose money ; and wholesale thieves who rob nations of all that they have be esteemed and honoured ? Shall a roguery be sanctified by the greatness of it ; and impunity be purchased, by deserving the highest punishment ?”

“ May we not say of the high and mighty Potentates of this world, Gods vicegerents upon earth, that,

“ Their feet are swift to shed blood,

“ Destruction and Misery are in their ways,

“ And the way of Peace have they not known.”

“ But for our part, let us all deeply engrave on our hearts this delightful sentence,

“ Oh ! beauteous Peace

“ Sweet union of a State ! what else but thou

“ Gives safety, strength and glory to a people ?”

“ Well, my friends, let us be thankful that we are, at present, free from the dreadful calamities of war ; alas, the poor need no addition to their miseries—They lead not even a dog’s life, ‘ Hunger and Ease, for they have hunger and labour too. The sweat of Adam’s brow, may be truly said, to have streamed down ours ever since.”

“ Times are not as they were even when this staff was growing ; No, then a labouring man could lighten his labour with a song, and put on a clean coat on a Sunday ; but now, ‘ Woe fills the face and rags cover the back.’ In good troth, what with one tax and another ‘ The poor man’s shilling soon loses its selvidge, and is wasted in ravelings,’ and ‘ Though he be a miser in summer he must be a spendthrift in winter, for ‘ The poor man’s corn is destroyed by hail every year,’ that is to say, he always finds it scarce and dear ; so that although he live ever so close, it is with him, ‘ Save all and have nothing,’ or in other words, ‘ Ever spare and ever bare ;’ for if he put by a little the tax gatherer runs away with it ; so that like the poor goose ‘ He is plucked feather by feather,’ and when he dies ‘ He may write his will on his nail or any thing he has to leave.’ ”

“ Now we must all agree that ‘ The lighter the purse the heavier the heart,’ for ‘ Wrinkled purses always make wrinkled faces,’ since, A man without money is no man at all,’ he is like a horse without feet or a bird without wings—There was Samson for instance, he was a strong man, but he could not pay money unless he had it, and yet you all remember the fate of poor Tom Friendly, who died in a prison, after being shut up there nine years, because he could not pay the lawyers about an hundred Guineas for killing
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ing a hare in his own grounds.—What with taxes game laws, tythes, right of chase and deerfeed, the poor have indeed the worst of it.”

“ Great folks should consider that it is but a modest request the poor man makes, he only says, ‘ Let him that earns the bread—eat.’ And ‘ Whilst one man asks for a million, he asks but for a groat.’ But my neighbours did you but know how our greatfolks live, you would find out why you are thus put on the hook ; such revelling, drinking and gambling, is not paid with a trifle : besides they think nothing too costly, too nice, or too rare for them ; they seem to have forgotten, that “ The dainties of the rich cause the tears of the poor ;’ they therefore require to be told that, ‘ If an eel be held too fast, she’ll escape,’ and ‘ The nose always to the grindstone must wear out.’ In very truth, the people must be nearly worn out, for all they eat, all they drink, all they wear, all the air they breathe, and all the light from heaven is taxed someway or other, and ‘ Where every one fleeceth the sheep must go bare.”

“ Great God of patience and of consolation, enable the poor and oppressed to bear their sufferings with resignation. Consider my friends that,

“ ’Tis Godlike magnanimity, to keep,

“ When most provoked, our Reason calm and clear.”

But

“But still I will allow that ‘He must have leave to speak that cannot hold his tongue;’ for ‘The tongue will be ever turning to the aching tooth,’ and ‘A man may bear till his back breaks;’ but it will never do for us to lie down and cry God Help us. No ! No ! we must depend on our own exertions ; for ‘He that stays in the valley will never get over the hill;’ and ‘He that will have the kernel must crack the shell.’ We must depend, I say, upon our own exertions, and have a reform of Parliament ; that it may no longer be said—that seats in Parliament are bought and sold, as notoriously as standings for *Cattle* at a fair. If this be the case, my friends, take my advice, and ‘Trust not your hand too long in a lions mouth.”

“I hope and trust our rulers will keep the people from more oppressions, for, ‘A galled horse can’t endure the comb;’ and, ‘The orange that is too hard squeezed yields a bitter juice.’ They need not be told that ‘Poverty holds to no bargains;’ nor that ‘One spark is enough when the train is laid.’ Since therefore, ‘A danger foreseen is half avoided,’ let them use a little foresight, if they are able, lest the people should say, ‘Better cut the shoe than pinch the foot, or ‘Better die struggling than live starving.” Now we all know, that, ‘In the coldest flint is the hottest fire,’ but ‘None of us know in cold blood, what they

they may do in a passion, and when men are once enraged, 'To proclaim whispers may be dangerous, and to whisper proclamations ridiculous.' For one man in despair can do as much as ten, and if a Bear were to shew him his teeth, he would only call out for a muzzle."

"Courage my friends, the times will mend. Men are not what they were. 'The crutch of Time has done more than the club of Hercules.' Monarchs

"———on whose eyeballs murderous tyranny
"Sits in grim majesty to fright the world."

Tyrants, I say, must look to it: 'They must pull down the hat on the windy side;' for 'When the next house is on fire, it is time to look to one's own'—They should consider that, although, 'Great men scorn the people, yet they lie at their mercy;' and that 'A Lyon once owed his Life to a mouse;' for 'It cannot be always holiday at Peckham;' and though they have hitherto had the world in a string, yet Nature now revolts at them "Sail, quoth the King; Hold, quoth the wind. Brunswick for that. People begin to find out, that, 'As good water goes by the mill as drives it:' that, 'A man is a man though he has a hose cap on his head'; that, 'a King is but a man though a Crown is on his pate.'
Come

Come, my friends, here is a curious question to exercise your wits upon: Why with an African, should an African King be a God, and with an European Merchant this God be scarce a man? Some have been bold enough to say of a King, 'He covers you with his wings, and bites you with his bill;' that 'He is as kind as a kite, all he can't eat he hides.' Our neighbours the French say 'He must be in great want of a bird who gives a groat for an Owl;' and that 'Small birds should never ask the hawk to dinner;' for 'Those Geese are geese indeed,' they say, 'who make a league with the fox.' They cry out, 'Neither a log nor a stork, good Jupiter,' for they think that 'He who despises King Log may fear King Crane;' and they tell you, that 'He who eats honey with a bear, ought to have iron claws.' They have found out that 'All the brains of the nation cannot be in one head.'

"Well, well, 'Kings must die as well as clowns,' and when they do, some will say "Alas! there went one of *God's anointed*;' whilst others will say, poor man 'His main fault was he was good for nothing.' 'He used to have the first cut and all the loaf besides:' and always 'Drank out of the broad end of the funnell, whilst he held the little one to us.'

“ The enemies to the hereditary descent of the Crown, tell the world that ‘ It is impossible to to have a Solomon always, on the throne,’ for ‘ He that has no fools, nor knaves in his family, was begotten by a flash of lightning;’ and true it is, that, ‘ Apollo’s sons were not all wise, nor were the sons of Hercules all strong.’ They tell the world, and they tell the world true too. ‘ That ‘ some men may break their backs before they get a good son or a wise one.’ Now neighbours, what is to be done if a great man should have the misfortune, to have a batch of dough cakes, what can he do with whom it is, ‘ Never a barrell a better herring.’ For believe me, ‘ There is but little choice among stinking fish.’ — Here the poor sailer looking as arch as if he had just escaped a press gang, said with a sneer, ‘ Master, may be they’d mend by keeping?’ What, stinking fish get sweet, said Herbert, if they do, I’ll get BURKE’S RANT by rote. No. No. ‘ Feed a pig and and you’ll have a hog.’ That is my thought, and ‘ Truth will out,” for ‘ Truth, like Oil, will be uppermost,’ and ‘ Honesty is the best policy;’ although ‘ An honest heart may be landed at Traitors Bridge.’ Yet,

“ He who contends for freedom

“ Can ne’er be justly deemed his sovereign’s foe;

“ No! tis the wretch who tempts him to subvert it,

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The

"The soothing slave, the traitor in the bosom,
"Who best deserves that name; he is a worm
"That eats out all the happiness of Kingdoms."

Honesty I repeat it, is the best policy. And

"Heaven that made you honest, made you more
"Than e'er a King did when he made a Lord."

Now I talk of Lords I must say that 'Clouds, that the sun builds up, darken him,' for there are those who say, 'So I be warm let the people freeze;' for 'I'll have the cash if they have the coals,' but we all know, 'A place at court is a continual bribe,' and 'They that buy an office, must sell something.' Well! keep me from a court, for there, 'If you beat but a bush, out starts a knave;' for 'If a man goes in honest, he will come out a rogue;' and between friends, 'Every courtier's a slave in a golden chain.' 'Shew me an hundred Highwaymen, an hundred pickpockets and an hundred sycophants; and I will shew you three hundred thieves.' There is some truth believe me, in Cato's letters, there you'll find, that, One great man who gets an hundred thousand pounds by cheating the public, must wink and connive at ten others who wrong it of ten thousand pounds each; and they at ten times as many more, who shall each de-
fraud

fraud it of one thousand, and so in great and little progression, till the greatest part of the public revenue is swallowed and devoured by great and little plunderers."

"Excuse me, said the Curate, addressing Hubert, but your observations on a Court remind me of an anecdote related by honest Will Whiston; it is this, " Lord Stanhope was once in company, but leaning on his arm, in a musing posture, seemed to take no notice of them. At last he started up, and in a kind of agony said, Well, I am now satisfied, that a man cannot set his foot over the threshold of a court, but he must be as great a rogue, as ever was hanged at Tyburn". I thank you, Mr. Curate, said Hubert, for furnishing me with so good an authority, especially since I thought I perceived that some of my hearers were ready to accuse me of bestowing too violent epithets on courts. I acknowledge there are to be found there men of high birth, but ' High birth is but a poor dish on a table.' ' Send your noble blood to market and see what it will buy.' Besides neighbours ' He that boasteth of his ancestors, confesseth he hath no virtue of his own; ' so that ' To be fond of hereditary honours is to rant in dead men's clothes; ' for, ' Honours without merit is like a gawdy suit on a clothes-horse.' And after all ' What good can it do an ass to be called

a lion.' No, no, ' So yourself be good, a fig for your grandfather.' Give me leave to say ' We are all Adam's children, but filks make the difference.' ' Nature, my friends, takes as much pains in the womb for forming a beggar, as an Emperor,' but believe me, ' He is the best gentleman who is the son of his own deserts.' For

" I tell thee, then, whoe'er amidst the sons

" Of Reason, Valour, Liberty and Virtue,

" Displays distinguished merit, is a NOBLE

" Of NATURE's own creating."

Nor does all the frippery of Stars and of Garters, make any difference in the eyes of a wise man ; for ' A Hog in armour is still but a hog' ' A Horse is neither better nor worse for his trappings,' and

" An Ape's an Ape, a Varlet's a Varlet ;

" Though he be clad in silk or scarlet."

And yet there are those, for, ' There are many Affes without long ears,' who if, one of these lordlings do but smile, are ready to eat him. For ' A nod from a lord is a breakfast for a fool ;' but ' He must love bacon indeed, who licks the Hog's breech.'

" ————— Supple knees

" Feed arrogance, and are the great man's fees.

But

"But when their turn is served they are so haughty, 'They know not where their ears hang.' 'Great height makes giddy heads.' But would that one of these lofty men were to shake his hollow head at us, then I would say.

"Here you fine piece of gilt mortality, and tinsel pageantry tell me.

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
"Pray where was then the Gentleman."

For none can deny, that, 'The three first men in the world was a Gardiner, a Ploughman, and a Grazier.' And 'At a round table an Herald's useless.'—Hubert, perceiving the soldier was disposed to speak, stopped. "Excuse me, said the warrior, I only wished to tell you an old story that comes pretty near to the purpose,"

"In one of the wars of France, a great number of the French officers, men of quality, having been taken prisoners, and the French general receiving daily complaints of the indignities committed against them, he at last dispatched a trumpeter, with a message to Baron Beck, Governor of Luxemburg, where they were detained, and among other matters declared, that the little regard he shewed to persons of quality, who had fallen into his hands, was a plain proof of his
having

having originally been a poor post-boy, which indeed was the truth. The trumpeter bluntly delivered his message, and the Baron Beck uncourtly as he was, shewed not the least resentment to the trumpeter, but bid him acquaint the Marshall that it was true; he owed nothing to his birth, but that if the General had been born a Post-Boy he would have been so still." Hubert thanked the Soldier for his story and thus proceeded.

"Think not I mean to say that 'Riches and Honours are to be levelled,' no, no, let honour and riches lodge with the worthiest, and let every man bequeath his Money and his good name, as he thinks best, amongst his offspring. But 'Never trouble yourself to seek a good mans pedigree,' how then, you say, shall we find out a great man? by this infallible rule, 'A great man will not trample on a worm, nor sneak to an Emperor;' that is 'The man that will go to bed with a good conscience,' and 'A quiet conscience you know will sleep in thunder.' But that is not the case with those rogues who take the money out of our pockets, without earning it. Is it not a curious way neighbours of protecting a man, to take all his Money out of his pockets? Thus the Highwayman says to the traveller, "Pray, Sir, leave your Watch and money in my hands, or else,

else, by G—, you will be robbed.” ‘ Pensioners, like pickpockets, make broad bottom bargains,’ —they are sure traders; for they take ready money and allow no Discount;’ and ‘ Like pick-pockets, too, they don’t always trade in their *own names*” Sinecure placemen and pensioners have long found out, ‘ That one wood’s enough to feed many Elephants.’ But ‘ Fling down the nests and the rooks will be gone;’ ‘ No receivers, no thief,’ ‘ Take away the fuel and you take away the fire.”

There are some of you that say, ‘ We will have a reform; but it shall be a temperate and a moderate one.’ But why limit yourselves in doing good? why set any bounds in the removal of abuses? “ A thorough reformation must begin at the upper end. The Sailor here started up “ Aye said he, let us act the part of skilful pilots and call all hands to labour at the oars and at the ropes. Let us begin with throwing all our luggage and useless trumpery overboard; then let us, lower or take down all superfluous sails, to prevent the vessel from being overset; and when we have done all in our power to save the ship, let us implore the assistance of heaven, and I doubt not, with the captain we love on board, but we shall out-ride the storm*.” Hubert smiled his thanks to the Sailor and then resumed his discourse. “ It is true you have Lords to take care of your trade, Lords to take care of

* Cato's Letters.

of your money, and Lords to take care of, the Lord knows what. So that if you do not fare well it is not for want of help : but “ Many helps, quoth the toad to the Harrow, when every tooth turned her.”

“ Let every one mend one,’ for ‘ Jack,’ I fear, ‘ is sometimes as bad as his Master ;’ but, ‘ If you will sell yourselves, take care another does not run away with the money ;’ remember that, ‘ A bought elector will have a fold representative,’ for ‘ A crooked stick will always have a crooked shadow.”

“ It is true that many of you get no more wages now, than when a quartern loaf might be had for gaping for, and you are ready to say ‘ As well play for nothing as work for nothing.’ I agree, that ‘ All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy,’ so spare some time for conversation and instruction, for ‘ He that converses not, knows nothing,’ and ‘ A book shut is only a block.’ Be not afraid of failing in your attempts at acquiring knowledge, for every man, that is not an idiot, may learn ; for ‘ A doctor and a clown knows more than a doctor alone,’ and ‘ If you don’t try you’ll never fly.’ Now none of you are without *Common Sense*, so neglect not its dictates, for he who throws *Common Sense* in the fire would

also consume the *Rights of Man*. Read, mark, and learn, for 'Learning is wealth to the poor, a guardian to the young, a support and comfort to the aged, and a friend and companion to all.' Now I have some where learnt that the people, when they are not misled or corrupted, generally make a sound judgment of things: they have natural qualifications equal to those of their superiors, and 'There is often found a greater genius carrying a pitch fork, than carrying a white staff.' It is true those who conduct the affairs of the nation would not wish you to be too wise, so they may tell you to place all your *confidence* in them; for that, 'Wisdom is at the helm, and Ignorance must be under the hatches.' Thus they may hope to wheedle you, and to prevent you from discovering their faults, well knowing that 'A bird may be caught in a snare, that will not stand to be shot,' and the less you know the more ease for them; for 'The ravening fox wants no lanthorn;' but judge for yourselves, and let not them judge for you; for, 'A Wolf should not be of the jury at a sheep's trial.' Remember 'A bushel of wheat is made up of single grains' Unite all for your common good, and give your cause to heaven, for.

" England, bound in with the triumphant sea,

" Whose rocky shore beats back the envious surge

H

Of

" Of wat'ry Neptune, is bound in with shame,
" With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds."

" He that sees a storm approaching must call for
his coat,' for ' He that prepares for ill, gives the blow
a meeting and breaks its stroke.' Reflect on the
blessings of Liberty, mind, I do not mean licen-
tiousness; consider that 'A bean in liberty, is better
than a comfit in prison;' and that, ' The loose Ox
licks himself at pleasure."

" When the great work of reformation is begun,
' When every rogue turns out an honest man, and
every honest man turns out a rogue---from his
place,' then, who is he that will dare oppose you?

" Which is the villain? let me see his eyes,
" That when I note another like him
" I may avoid him."

So great a change may indeed produce confusion,
but, ' Pain may bring us ease and comfort:' for,
' Many misty mornings are followed by fine days."

But friends and neighbours, above all things,

" Love one another,
" Let each son of Adam love his brother."

Soon may " the golden age of peace arrive,"
when

when Frenchmen and Englishmen, indignantly spurning from them those who have taught them to regard each other, horrid idea! as natural enemies, shall hold out the right hand of Fellowship, and shall mutually hail each other as brethren. When, instead of contending on whose side the ballance of power shall preponderate, their only contest shall be to surpass each other in acts of friendship and benevolence.

Since, as I have said before, 'Human blood is all of one colour,' Why should you think a man your enemy, because a ridge of hills, or a stream of water runs between you; or because he thinks he knows a shorter way to heaven than you do? Quarrell with no man because he will not travel in the same road with you; nor seek to 'Reform every one's dial by your watch.' Since that is the way that Fire and Faggot came into fashion; for '*Paternoster* built churches, and *Our father* pulled them down.'

Here Hubert finished, when the Curate perceiving the company disposed to separate, intreated their attention to a few words, at parting, "Guard, said he, my fellow countrymen, with the utmost vigilance, those privileges which distinguish the free man from the slave. Spare no pains in acquiring a just knowledge of the various rights and duties of man.

For that purpose, lose no opportunity of entering into the investigation of those deeply interesting topics; and, employ yourselves diligently, at the intervals of labour, in perusing the works of those who have kindly inlisted in your cause. Be constant in your attendance under this tree, which we have dedicated to the cause of Liberty; and fear neither the arts of treachery, nor the blusterings of power. Our meetings may indeed fill the minds of the guilty with fear and alarm; we must therefore expect to be attacked with calumny and falsehood. But, remember the primitive christians, who like us assembled for mutual information, and that in defiance of the *proclamations* of those days, were cruelly oppressed. Their doctrines were deemed seditious, their steady perseverance in delivering the truth, was doubtlessly termed libellous, and their retired assemblies occasioned the most serious alarms to the established government.

Long may ye, my friends, enjoy the blessings of peace. Soon may ye obtain the removal of those numerous abuses, which have crept into the present system! Then, and not till then, will this country be admired and respected by surrounding nations."

"Be ye, therefore, unceasingly employed in endeavouring to procure a fair and equal representation,

tation, in parliaments of a proper duration. When that is obtained your other grievances may soon be expected to cease. A due equilibrium may be preserved between the respective parts of the constitution—Our gracious sovereign will be happy in lessening the burthens of his loving subjects. Imitation, may take place in the *making* of Lords—Wars may be less frequently thought necessary—The swarms of pensioners and sinecure placemen may be diminished—Taxes may be lightened—The national debt may be *actually* reduced—The land tax equalized—The poor laws amended—The Game laws abolished—The Excise laws rendered less odious—The statute laws corrected—The partial and oppressive laws against workmen meliorated—The proceedings at common law rendered more compatible with common sense and equity—The severity of the criminal laws lessened—The infant poor may be educated by some grand national establishment—Youth may be protected, instead of being dragged into hard and degrading servitude—The aged poor may be maintained—The Clergy more equally and agreeably provided for—and Test-acts annihilated. These are some of the many blessings, which most probably would succeed to that Reform of Parliament, which it is your duty to demand and your right to obtain.”

Surely

“ Surely there is no one who would wish to have recourse to violence, whilst there is room to hope for the accomplishment of his wishes, by mild and constitutional means. Our constitution must not be unnecessarily attacked,—I therefore trust that Englishmen will never be so rash, as to attempt the subversion of so stately an edifice, untill every endeavour to repair it has proved unsuccessful. Let it be accurately surveyed by honest and skilful judges, so that its faults may be exactly ascertained. Then let those parts which have become rotten by the lapse of time, or the unsoundness of the original materials, be immediately, but carefully, removed, and their places supplied by true *heart of oak*. As the foundation will probably be found without fault, I hope it never will be meddled with, unless at the general desire of those for whose comfort and protection it was laid.”

“ They must be rash, indeed, who would think of pulling down the building, without first trying what may be done by such judicious alterations as will restore it nearly to its original state. But they, on the other hand, are still more daring, who chuse to withhold the necessary repairs, at the risk of having the house fall upon their heads.”

“ In plain terms, an abolition of abuses, and a steady

steady adherence to those principles on which the constitution was established at the revolution, is absolutely necessary to prevent men from being urged, by despair, to make rash and dangerous experiments. Since, should the necessary reformation be withheld, there is every reason to fear that the people may, at some future period, be overwhelmed with the evils resulting from the mal-administration of ignorant or profligate governors; and that galled by the recollection of former injuries, and smarting under immediate sufferings, they, may be induced, not only to *abate the nuisance*, but to wreak their revenge on those whom they may esteem the last authors of their calamities. For, we are told by high authority that, "Mankind will never forget that governors are not made for the sake of themselves, but are placed in their respective stations to discharge the functions of their offices for the sake of the public: and if they should ever conceive that their governors are so inattentive to their duty, as to exercise their functions to keep themselves in power, and for their own emolument, without attending to the interests of the public, government must be relaxed, and at last crumble to dust."

See

See LORD KENYON'S *Summing up, on the trial of Stockdale for a libel on the House of Commons.*

Do not, my friends, imagine this to be a new fangled doctrine : peruse the writings of the immortal LOCKE who wrote in support of that constitution, which we all so much admire, and there you will find the same principle, though perhaps expressed in more forcible and energetic language.

“ Cry up their governors, as much as you
 “ will, for sons of *Jupiter* ; let them be sacred
 “ and divine, descended, or authorized from heaven ; give them out for what or whom you
 “ please, the same will happen. *The people generally ill treated*, and contrary to right, will be
 “ ready on any occasion to ease themselves of a
 “ burden that fits heavy upon them. They will
 “ wish and seek for the opportunity, which in the
 “ change, weakness and accidents of human affairs, seldom delays long to offer itself.” *Locke on Government. Book II, Paragraph 224.*

“ This doctrine of a power in the people of
 “ providing for their safety anew, by a new legislative, when their legislators have acted contrary to their trust, by invading their property,
 is

“ is *the best fence against rebellion*, and the proba-
 “ blest means to hinder it. *Paragraph 226.*

“ If they, who say it *lays a foundation for rebel-*
 “ *lion*, mean that it may occasion civil wars, or
 “ intestine broils, to tell the people they are ab-
 “ solved from obedience when illegal attempts are
 “ made upon their liberties or properties, and
 “ may oppose the unlawful violence of those who
 “ were their magistrates, when they invade their
 “ properties contrary to the trust put in them;
 “ and that therefore this doctrine is not to be al-
 “ lowed, being so destructive to the peace of the
 “ world: they may as well say, upon the same
 “ ground, that honest men may not oppose rob-
 “ bers or pirates, because this may occasion dis-
 “ order or bloodshed. If any *mischief* come in
 “ such cases, it is not to be charged upon him
 “ who defends his own right, but *on him that in-*
 “ *vades his neighbours*. Who would not think it
 “ an admirable peace betwixt the mighty and the
 “ mean, when the lamb, without resistance, yiel-
 “ ded his throat to be torn by the imperious wolf?
 “ *Paragraph. 228.*

“ *Who shall be judge*, whether the prince or le-
 “ gislative act contrary to their trust? This, per-
 “ haps, ill affected and factious men may spread
 I amongst

“ amongst the people, when the prince only makes
 “ use of his due prerogative. To this I reply,
 “ *the people shall be judge*, for who shall be judge
 “ whether his trustee or deputy acts well, accord-
 “ ing to the trust reposed in him, but he who de-
 “ putes him, and must, by having deputed him
 “ have still a power to discard him, when he fails
 “ in his trust? *Paragraph. 240.*

Night now coming on apace, the villagers re-
 turned to their several homes; but not until they
 had respectively promised a punctual attendance
 at the succeeding meeting.

F I N I S.

